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REMARKS BY GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER PREPARED FOR
 THE MILWAUKEE WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL AT
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Let us talk tonight of some of the specifics of peace -- some of the tough and hard specifics, clearly distinct from the soft and easy generalizations.

Let us begin with a few simple cautions and warnings. First, a caution against any gleaming but shallow generalizations that imply "peace" to be merely the simple absence of total war. For true peace is far from being any such simple thing. It is the most complex, difficult and exacting challenge, it is an historic opportunity daring the American people to prove their wisdom and their greatness.

Next, a caution against any absurd partisan suggestion that this quest of peace reflects any special and peculiar policy monopolized by either one of our great political parties. For it is no such thing. It is the purpose and the task of all Americans of common sense and good will.

And, finally, a caution against any implication by any political leader that we are nearing the end of our quest for peace, or that the road before us is short and direct. This road ahead is a road of trial -- and a road of dedication. Any great nation that cannot face such a trial -- or cannot make such a dedication -- might as well abandon the journey at once. We Americans are resolved never to abandon this quest. And I believe this further fact: we are going to make this journey without including in our intellectual baggage any cheap panaceas or easy assurances or vain promises. We are, and must be, capable of facing the clear facts and changing forces that confront us, of knowing the principles by which we must proceed, and of serving the purposes that add up to true peace. And so, I would speak plainly of these three things: the facts before us, the principles by which we must act and the purposes to which we aspire. The facts before us -- including the ever-changing, never-static forces reshaping our world -- fall into three clear categories. We must know them all. We must know the facts about the power that challenges us. We must know the forces surging through the world at large in this moment of history. And we must know the facts about ourselves that could slow or weaken our strivings for the peace we seek.

All these facts we must confront, not in any spirit of dismay, or timidity, but with the sense of realism, and the sense of purpose, of an America bent upon great historic enterprise.

First, then: the facts of the power that challenges us. Briefly, it is the most massive and menacing challenge we have ever had to meet in our history as a nation. In political terms, the Sino-Soviet alliance threatens for the first time in history to confront America with a hostile power that could dominate the whole Eurasian continent and carry its threat to

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the shores of every continent, including our own. In military terms, America stands gravely vulnerable for the first time in history to an attack that could, in less than one hour, afflict such devastation as to put in peril the survival of the America we have known for two hundred years.

And, in philosophic and spiritual terms, this titanic force is wedded to a political ideology, a doctrine of history, and a definition of man himself that not only deny our own most basic beliefs but also propose to organize the whole world in the tough and tragic terms of these most alien beliefs.

These are the elemental facts about the force challenging us directly. And I say to you, most seriously, that the man who does not recognize this to be the most profound challenge America has ever known has not awakened to the meaning of life, or the danger of death, in this Twentieth Century.

Next: what are the facts about the world at large in this moment of history?

It is an age of revolution and of explosion: political revolution and economic revolution, rising popular demands and rising colonial peoples, exploding bombs and exploding populations. This plain and dramatic fact immediately tells us two most specific things:

First: it reminds us that the so-called Soviet Revolution, far from dominating or even personifying this period of history, actually marks a reaction parading under the name of revolution. The revolution of our times -- the true revolution -- is in all the world. It is not in the Soviet Union.

What the Soviet Union calls "revolution" is nothing more than a marshalling of the ancient devices of tyranny to try to provide for itself a ruthless system of politics to meet this age of revolution, and to impose that system upon others.

And second: the nature of this age warns us, the people of America, that in such an historic time we cannot and we dare not simply stand still. We cannot merely turn our back to the blast and the power of the forces of revolution in all the world. If this be the world we live in, and the menacing nature of the hostile power of Soviet Communism, what are the facts about ourselves? What are those facts that could harm or hinder us in playing our historic role in such an age?

I suggest to you that, through most of the history of these times, we have been tempted to act largely in terms of reaction rather than creation. We have seemed too often to lack coherent and continuing purpose. Rather, we have relied on sporadic responses to sudden needs and crises. Many of these responses have been good and brave -- from the economic creativity of the Marshall Plan a decade ago to the personal initiative of the President's journey across the world these very days.

But -- in the long intervals between such events -- we have tended to imagine that broad general declarations of national intention would affect the world by their mere pronouncement. Perhaps we have been dreaming that words could be substituted for deeds, problems be patched up with slogans, abstract proclamations take the place of concrete and creative policies. We cannot continue thus. More than a decade of this century is now ending.

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A whole era, I believe, is ending. All the forces and formulas of the immediate post-war era are changing.

Hence even methods and institutions successful in the past cannot suffice for the future. The weapons of ten or fifteen years ago are obsolete. This we all know. We must realize no less clearly that the ideas of past years, too, can and may be obsolete. We must -- in Lincoln's simple words -- think anew, act anew. We must disenthral ourselves. This is the most clear and urgent of all the facts we must face.

By what principles of national conduct can and should we address ourselves to these facts? Here, I mean not merely the great and broad principles, the ideals of liberty and justice and order and law to which we are and forever must be pledged as a people. I mean, rather, the principles by which we can direct our national policies, our behavior as a nation, so that the general and everlasting values we cherish may acquire specific force and relevance to a whole world in quest of peace. I offer the following as some of the reasonable and necessary rules of such national conduct.

1. We must accept and respect change as a rule of life in this Twentieth Century. Here we must fully recognize that the greater part of mankind is dedicated to an effort to change its estates. Mankind wishes to acquire, or to magnify, its freedom, to develop new institutions, to reach higher standards of living. We cannot, need not, and should not let our nation ever seem to be pitted against this great army of the world's decent desires. Our task is not to halt change, but to direct it. Our task is to give shape and principle -- yes, and leadership -- and focus to movements of change. In so doing, we can help to see that the earth-changing acts of our generation become earth-saving.
2. We must see the world -- and the struggle over its destiny -- as truly one world. In its simplest sense, this means that we cannot define "national interest" as something strictly national in a geographic sense. Where the world goes, we go. In broader sense still, this means that no area of conflict -- Middle East, Far East, Central Europe, South America -- can be considered in isolation from all other areas. A true strategy for the world must take account of all the world, in all places, at all times.
3. So long as the imposing menace of Soviet Communism ^{permits}, we can tolerate no serious lag in our purely military power. One of the latest studies of our defense strength today includes this warning: "The military position of the United States has declined in the short span of fifteen years from one of unchallenged security to that of a nation both open and vulnerable to direct and devastating attack."

The pace of technology -- and the pace of Soviet science -- have brought this to pass. We must realize that serious lag between our political purposes and our military capacities could only be an invitation to disaster. And we must realize, too, the crucial importance of civil defense measures. By reducing the damage of any enemy attack, we can discourage and deter such attack altogether.

4. We must forever make clear to all the world that the military power we possess and display is the servant of our national policy and never the master. We do not seek such military strength in order to evade or avoid diplomatic negotiation with the Soviet Union. The reverse is true. Only with such strength can the pursuit of such negotiation hold hope of just solutions to specific conflicts. We do not merely accept and tolerate negotiation toward such solutions. We invite and urge it.
5. The encounter with Soviet Communism must not distract us from our wider task of building greater areas of political, social, and economic strength throughout the world of free men. This means lending the full weight of American policy and counsel to helping these regional communities growing throughout the world. Already the world witnesses many such larger unities: the British Commonwealth and the French Community, the Organization of American States, the Atlantic Community, the Common Market -- and the strivings throughout Latin America, Africa and Asia toward new unions binding nations in common life and purpose. Whether the issues be commodity prices or low-cost housing, freer trade or broader education -- the regions of the world must be encouraged by every American action and policy, to come closer together in common effort reaching across national boundaries.
6. Even as we bear and increase the burden of arms and armaments we must carry, we must realize that all mankind knows its first and most urgent task is to check and to discipline the race in armaments. Hence, we must tirelessly pursue every political and every technological avenue that offers some hope of effectively controlled disarmament agreements. We need to give far greater time and thought and effort to the study of the arms problem than we have done to date. We can do more than fretfully await the coming day when weapons of total destruction may be distributed widely among the nations -- so that many are armed and none is safe. We must strive to act now -- creatively and courageously.
7. We must realize in all our national conduct that the manner and the style of what we do and say before all the world can be quite as important as the substance. We cannot hope to solve divisions and erase problems and supply wants in many areas of the world -- all in one swift moment. Neither conflict in the Middle East nor poverty in India, nor strife in Africa can be ended by grand proclamation or sudden program.

But we can always speak responsibly and act fairly as a nation. We can be patient without being indifferent, firm without being harsh, prudent without being prideful. We can act in a national manner that ignores minor grievances and disdains minor rebuffs. And in all such ways we can make America a politically courteous guest in the homes of the nations, and hence a welcome one.

Finally, we face this question: what are the supreme purposes of all this? Let me state emphatically what our purposes are not. We do not seek gain or profit for ourselves in territory or sovereignty or any other world, nor do we merely seek to travel the world collecting military allies. For example, what a tragedy it would be if an Africa just emerging from the shadow of colonialism, should be converted into nothing more than a

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battleground in the so-called cold war.

Nor do we seek merely to check the aggressive purposes of Soviet Communism. We are in this world to do something more politically than to show what we do not want.

We are here, in and of this mid-Twentieth Century world, to do nothing less than this: to help and strive to create a world community of free peoples. We are here to prove as a people that free men can find ways and institutions to live in peace and to prosper in dignity -- and to help others prove it.

This great purpose means most specific things. It means that we wish and intend to help other nations strive for better living standards -- not to buy military alliance with our economic help. For we know that only as a people can live and work and prosper, in decency and in dignity, can democracy itself live and flourish.

It means that we strive to create a community of nations not conforming to any American pattern but tolerant of many patterns. This is true so long as any nation accepts the disciplines and responsibilities of decent international behavior, whatever its economic methods and formulas. Thus, we try to make the world safe for diversity.

It means, too, that we do not pit West and East against one another, nor let conflicts scar the world along lines of race or color.

Quite the contrary: we see the historic role of these United States, of men of all races and colors, as being that of a leader toward broader and greater unions of nations.

Finally -- one last thing: a pinnacle of purpose, if you will. It is, and it must be, our striving not only to seem but to be -- not only to speak, but to act and to live -- as free men dedicated to their freedom. All our national life must be a testament to our national purpose in the world -- as truly as we can make it. What we hope to be among the nations, we must first be among ourselves.

We need and strive for more rapid economic growth in our nation -- not simply to compete with Soviet growth, as if the struggle for the world's future were a sport, but to prove the fruitfulness of freedom to all other peoples craving more decent life.

We need responsible conduct on the part of both labor and management -- not merely to quicken production, but because we cannot preach about the processes of economic freedom abroad if these processes fail at home.

We need to assure true equality among all our own peoples -- if we truly aspire to help create a free community of nations of many colors and races in the world.

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So the many purposes become really one: to give proof through the night -- through all the night of this testing time of freedom -- that free men are not simply besieged beneath their flag.

They are ready and able to march toward greater conquests of freedom than history has ever known. And as we come to the end of an historic post-war era, now is the time to begin this march.

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